

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
DHA-02 /077 W
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O R 101620Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6085
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0750

E.OM 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SF, US, XA
SUBJ: FOLLOW-UP ON NAMIBIAN TALKS

REF: STATE 103413

1. FOLLOWING IS AGREED REPORT BY THE FIVE AMBASSADORS AND
CHARGES ON THEIR BRIEFING OF INTERESTED GROUPS IN WINDHOEK,
MAY 9-10

2. QUOTE: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVEBRIEFED INTERESTED
PARTIES IN NAMIBIA ON THE CAPE TOWN TALKS WITH THE SOUTH
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. SEPARATE BRIEFINGS WERE GIVEN ON
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MAY 9 TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TURNHALLE, SWAPO, THE
NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT, AND A COMBINED MEETING OF THE
FEDERAL PARTY AND THE INTERESSENGEMEINSCHAFT VON
DUETSCHSPRACHIGEN IN SWA/NAMIBIA. ON MAY 10, THE FIVE
MET WITH LEADERS OF SEVEN MAJOR CHURCHES. THE BRIEFINGS
LASTED FROM TWO TO FOUR HOURS.

3. ALL DELEGATIONS WELCOMED THE FACT THAT THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD COME TO NAMIBIA TO OUTLINE THE CAPE TOWN TALKS AND TO HEAR REACTIONS FIRST HAND. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS HOPED THAT MORE SUCH VISITS WOULD BE MADE. THE DISCUSSIONS WERE POSITIVE IN THE SENSE THAT NONE OF THE PARTIES BRIEFED SOUGHT TO PLACE INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE PROCESS. MOST RECOGNIZED THAT SOME PROGRESS TOWARD AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION HAD BEEN MADE, AND ALL CONSIDERED THAT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BASIC AIMS WOULD HAVE GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THEIR FUTURE.

TURNHALLE

4. THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES, OF WHOM 40 WERE PRESENT, WERE PREDICTABLY DISMAYED BY THE WESTERN BRIEFING AND THIS WAS PARTICULARLY SO AMONG THE NON-WHITE REPRESENTATIVES. THAT THEIR INTERIM GOVERNMENT (IG) PROJECT HAD BEEN SIDE-TRACKED WAS A BLOW TO THEM. THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF INTEREST REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE PROPOSED CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY (CAA) AND IN THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. OFT-STATED TURNHALLE POSITIONS ON BASIC ISSUES WERE REPEATED. THEY WERE STRONGEST IN EXPRESSING DISBELIEF IN THE ABILITY OR DESIRE OF THE UN TO ACT IMPARTIALLY (AND HENCE A REJECTION OF THE IDEA OF UN CONTROL), AND THEIR BELIEF THAT ETHNICITY IN NAMIBIA MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE IN ANY ELECTIONS. ABOVE ALL, THEY WERE DISTURBED AT THE WESTERN STATEMENT THAT THE MORE A CAA RESEMBLED THE TURNHALLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE LESS ACCEPTABLE IT WOULD BE TO THE

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

5. AT THE END OF THE SESSION, DIRK MUDGE SAID THE TURNHALLE'S CONSIDERED REPLY TO WESTERN PROPOSALS COULD NOT BE GIVEN UNTIL AFTER MAY 17 WHEN THE DELEGATES WILL MEET AND REVIEW THEM. HE STRESSED WHAT HE CONSIDERED TO BE THE MAJOR RESERVATIONS HE HAD ABOUT THE FIVE'S IDEAS. HE BELIEVED THAT IF THE TURNHALLE PLAN TO FORM AN IG WAS JEOPARDIZED, IT WOULD BE AN ANTI-CLIMAX. THIS WOULD MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT TO AROUSE INTEREST IN ANY NEW PROCESS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT WHETHER THE ENVISIONED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WOULD BE CAPABLE OF DRAFTING AN AGREED CONSTITUTION BECAUSE HE BELIEVED IT UNLIKELY THAT ANY KIND OF CONSENSUS COULD BE REACHED WITH SWAPO ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE. HE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THE WILLINGNESS OF TURNHALLE TO PIT THEIR IDEAS AGAINST SWAPO IN A "TEST OF OPINION." HE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE CAA CONCEPT BUT QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS REPRESENTED AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE IG. AGAIN HE DID NOT ROLE OUT FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THIS ASPECT.

6. THE TURNHALLE REACTION CAN THEREFORE BE CHARACTERIZED AS DEFENSIVE. THEY CANNOT YET VISUALIZE WHAT THEY MIGHT BE CAMPAIGNING FOR OR AGAINST IN ELECTIONS TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT THEY MIGHT WELL HAVE TO ADAPT TO THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.

SWAPO

7. THE SWAPO BRIEFING WAS ATTENDED BY A DELEGATION OF 19 MEMBERS HEADED BY DANIEL TJONGARERO. FOLLOWING THE BRIEFING, DELEGATES ASKED FOR SPECIFIC DETAILS ON A NUMBER OF POINTS, INCLUDING NOT ONLY MATTERS RAISED BY THE FIVE POWERS, BUT ALSO PARTICULAR GRIEVANCES RELATED TO SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA. THE SWAPO MEMBERS WERE BASICALLY DOCTRINAIRE, GIVING STANDARD PARTY POSITIONS ON MOST MATTERS DISCUSSED.

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8. THE SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES APPEARED SURPRISED TO LEARN OF THE CONCESSIONS MADE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, AND SEEMED TO SEE THE DERAILMENT OF TURNHALLE, AT LEAST, AS A POSITIVE STEP. SEVERAL MEMBERS SEEMED EAGER TO MAKE USE OF THE PUBLICALLY. THEY DECLINED, HOWEVER, TO "PAT THE WEST ON THE BACK", AND SAID THAT PATIENCE IS RUNNING OUT AND THAT SWAPO WILL NOW ATTEMPT TO PUSH THE WEST FORWARD FASTER. WITH REGARD TO ELECTIONS, THE POINTS WERE MADE THAT THE INTIMIDATION RESULTING FROM THE VERY PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES IN NAMIBIA WOULD IMPEDE FREE ELECTIONS, AND THAT ANY ELECTIONS MUST BE UNDER "UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL." THERE WAS SOME MISUNDERSTANDINGS EVEN AT THE MEETING'S END ON THE QUESTION OF THE PROPOSED CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, WITH SOME SWAPO MEMBERS APPEARING TO BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MIGHT BECOME INVOLVED IN SETTING THIS UP. TJONGARERO STATED THAT HE COULD NOT COMMENT IN DETAIL UNTIL HE RECEIVED A WRITTEN REPORT ON THE MEETING WITH VORSTER. NOR COULD HE EXPRESS A POSITION ON THE WESTERN PRESENTATION BEFORE CONSULTING WITH SWAPO LEADERS OUTSIDE OF NAMIBIA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0750

NAMIBIA NATIONA FRONT (NNF)
9. THE FIVE MET WITH A LARGE NNF DELEGATION WHICH CAME
PREPARED, IT SEEMED, NOT TO LISTEN BUT TO PROMOTE THEIR
PARTICULR AFFORTS TO BECOME ESTABLISHED AS A DISTINCTIVE
POLITICAL GROUP. THE FIVE HEARD A STATMENT FROM THE
GROUP AND THE SUBSEQUENT DIALOGUE SHOWED THAT DIFFERENCES
OF INTERPRETATION, COMMUNICATION AND PURPOSE EXIST.
SEVERAL CONSTRUCTIVE COMMENTS EMERGED REGARDING THE PROBLEMS
INVOLVED IN DRAFTING A CONSTITUTION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL OF THE
PARTIES CONCERNED. THIS SESSION, HOWEVER, CAN BE CHARAC-
TERIZED AS HAVING BEEN NECESSARY BUT NOT FRUITFUL.

FEDERAL PARTY AND GERMAN GROUP
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10. THE TALKING POINTS WERE PRESENTED TO A JOINT MEETING
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FEDERAL PARTY AND THE INTERESSEN-
GEMEINSCHAFT VON DUETSCHSPRACHIGEN (IGD) IN SWA/NAMIBIA.
FEDERAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES WERE PARTICULARLY
INTERESTED IN THE PROPOSALS FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS,
AND ADVOCATED A COMBINATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC VOTERS
ROLLS. THE IGD EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER SECURITY ASPECTS
AND THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WEST AND NAMIBIA.
BOTH PARTIES PRESENTED POSITION PAPERS.

CHURCH LEADERS

11. THE MEETING WITH CHURCH LEADERS WAS PARTICULARLY VALUABLE AND ALSO ENCOURAGING IN SHOWING THAT THEIR THINKING ON THE PRINCIPLES FOR A POLITICAL PROCESS WAS QUITE CLOSE TO THAT OF THE FIVE. BISHOP DE VRIES (EVANGELIECH LUSHERISDIE KIRCHE) AND BISHOP AUALA (EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN OVAMBO-KAVANGO CHURCH), WHO CAME DOWN ALL THE WAY FROM OVAMBO FOR THE BRIEFING MEETING, GAVE THE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT EARLY ELECTIONS TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY UNDER UN SUPERVISION. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHUCH AGREED WITH THIS POSITION.

12. BISHOP AUALA BELIEVED SWAPO HAD TO BE BROUGHT INTO NEGOTIATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. HE DESCRIBED THE SITUATION ON THE BORDER IN OVAMBO-KAVANGO AS TENSE AND SAID THAT INTIMIDATION OF THE POPULATION BY THE SA DEFENSE FORCE AS PART OF THEIR ANTI-GUERILLA CAMPAIGN WAS CAUSING MUCH BITTERNESS AND SUFFERING. THIS WAS WORKING TO SWAPO'S POLITICAL ADVANTAGE.

13. REV. MORROW (ANGLICAN) SAID THE WEAKNESS OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE WAS THAT IT PRESUMABLY MEANT LEAVING SA TROOPS ON THE BORDER. THIS PROBLEM WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH. IT WAS JUST POSSIBLE THAT A COMPROMISE COULD BE FOUND IN REMOVING THE SA POLICE WHO WERE GRAVELY COMPROMISED BY ACCUSATIONS OF USING TORTURE AND IN USING CONFIDENTIAL

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SELECTED SA ARMY UNITS.

14. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WHITE CHURCHES (DUTCH REFORMED AND GERMAN LUTHERAN) QUESTIONED THE ABILITY OF THE WEST TO ORGANIZE GENUINELY FREE ELECTIONS IN THE PREVAILING ATMOSPHERE AND EMPHASIZED THERE WOULD BE A RISK IN ALLOWING SWAPO, WHICH THEY SAW AS A COMMUNIST-ORINTED PARTY, TO ENTER THE CAMPAIGN WITH ITS SIMPLIFIED SLOGANS PROMISING "PEACE AND FFEEDOM" WHICH GAVE THEM THE ADVANTAGE OVER PARTIES WITH A MORE SOPHISTICATED APPROACH. END QUOTE. NELSON

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